1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

286 it. The loom is a simple frame of four sticks, the two upright ones are planted in the ground; the other two rudely tied to these. The warp is wrapped around the two horizontal bars and a simple contrivance of threads is arranged to open and reverse it. The thread for the woof wound on slender sticks is then passed through in the usual manner and driven tight by blows of a smooth stick. The process is exceedingly slow [462] and tedious and I have never seen it performed except by the men. The belts are usually two to three inches wide and four or five feet long. [291] Breech-cloths are about four feet long and a little more than a foot wide. The cloths for the dead and the women's petticoats are wider and a trifle longer. Except the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Be- [386] sides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty [438] purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel. It makes excellent towels, though rather heavy for that purpose. The largest piece of work of this kind I ever saw, was a blanket large enough to cover a good sized double bed. It was in possession of an old woman who wanted to sell it to me for a cow, and refused ten dollars cash.

The pottery now made is the coarsest and poorest I have ever seen. 323 None of the finely made and elaborately ornamented vessels found in the 415 *huacas* or graves are made at present. The use, for half a century or more, of foreign cast-iron pots and kettles has restricted this industry, and possibly helped to injure the character of the work. But two or three vessels taken by me from Tiribi graves, certainly not less than fifty or sixty years old, are in no respect superior to those made at the present day. Native earthenware is now only used for receptacles for chicha. The jars are large—say from ten to twenty gallons capacity. The form is very simple, the workmanship is rough, the clay is coarse and badly mixed, the burning is almost always imperfect, and they are always without the slightest attempt at ornament. The jars are moulded by hand, the clay being added spirally, and moulded by the fingers and trimmed with a smooth stick, in exactly the same manner as I have seen done by the negro women in Santo Domingo. After a certain amount of drying, they are burnt in the open air, in a fire of sticks heaped over them. Each jar is burnt separately.

Although not given to unnecessary exertion, these people travel occa- 484 sionally from house to house, and even make journeys to Terraba and Limon. The laziest will gladly walk for two days to a dance. They also occasionally go off into the less frequented regions to collect sarsaparilla, with which to buy whatever of foreign manufacture they may want, like

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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protection from the latter. Back of the fire-place are ranged the chicha jars, two or three in number. Being round bottomed, they stand on the floor propped up by stones. Scattered around the house are stools or benches, rarely more than six inches high, each carved out of a solid block of wood. They generally have four feet, though occasionally a small, roughly made one is seen, with but two feet, and which is only kept in upright position when somebody is sitting on it. The pots and kettles about the fire are all of American cast iron, and vary in size from less than a quart to ten gallons capacity. Hanging from the barbacue over the smoke, is generally seen a cocoanut shell or a leaf bundle full of salt. It is kept here because it is the only place where it will remain dry. Suspended from the roof are baskets of from one to three cubic feet capacity. They are usually made of a peculiar, very hard, and very flexible vine. These are the trunks of the people, and in them are kept their clothing and all of their little personal treasures and ornaments. They are also used for storing corn or other seeds, like beans, the basket being then lined with leaves to prevent spilling. The women also use them for carrying water calabashes. These are either gourds or the shells of the fruit of the calabash tree, with a small round hole cut in one end. One other use of the baskets is to carry loads when the net bags are scarce. These nets are also often suspended about the house in the same manner as the baskets. Axes, always of the make of Collins, of Connecticut, and long machetes, either of this or of some inferior make, are to be found in every house. Collins' hardware has gained a permanent reputation among these people, who will give twice as much for a leather handled machete of this brand, as for any other kind. Of other tools, the most noteworthy is a heavy stick sharpened to a chisel edge at one end and beveled on one side. This is used for making holes in planting corn or plantain sprouts, and the edge is used to beat down high grass. It works almost as effectually as a scythe. Hooked sticks for lifting the iron kettles, others cut with short radiating branches at the end, like a five or six pointed star, for stirring chocolate, and paddles for stirring food are always found near the fire. Calabashes and gourds with small holes cut in one end for water bottles, and other calabashes cut in half for drinking cups, are also found in every house. Food usually, and even drink sometimes, are served in leaves, called in Spanish "platanillo," smaller and tougher, but otherwise resembling those of the plantain. These are dexterously folded so as to hold a quart or more of fluid without spilling.

Of arms, besides the inevitable machete and very good double-barreled guns, they possess bows made of a very tough kind of palm wood. They are straight and usually about five feet long. The string is made of the finer kind of *agave* fibre. The arrows are of three kinds. All have a butt two and a half to three feet long, made from the light flower stalk of the wild cane. This is a mass of pith, with a thin hard shell on the outside, giving the requisite stiffness. They are not feathered. The

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

tween floor and earth being used as a pig-pen or a chicken-pen,] while the Indians place their hammocks near the fire at the floorless end of the dwelling. /

/ This floorless end of the lodge frequently has a small, quadrangular enclosure made of small sticks lashed together, in which are kept [the culinary utensils, especially the great, pointed-based, pottery chicha jars, which are tied to the side-posts of the pen and are propped with stones to keep them upright (fig. 1). [The floor here is also cumbered with the firelogs, radiating like the spokes of a wheel, with the fire at the middle.] [Calabashes for water or for the preparation of cacao] lie without order on the ground. Generally in this quarter one may see also [the great, flat-topped, natural, river bowlder (which takes the place of the old-time carved stone metate), and the round pebble which serves as a mano]\ One such large bowlder, possibly a drift rock, was seen in the middle of a trail, well out in the jungle and far from any habitation. The Bribri women still went there to grind their corn, for on several occasions traces

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[415]
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2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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412 of fresh meal were seen on its surface. A similar bowlder mortar may be seen in the foreground in pl. I.

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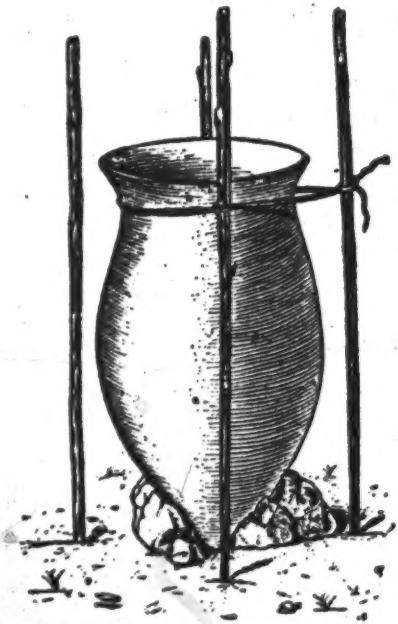

FIG. 1.—Method of supporting a chicha jar.

342 352 354 In the two circular houses of chiefs that still remained, the arrangement of household furnishings was more promiscuous, but in

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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LARGE CARRYING BAG
(Depth, 24 inches)

[facing p. 94]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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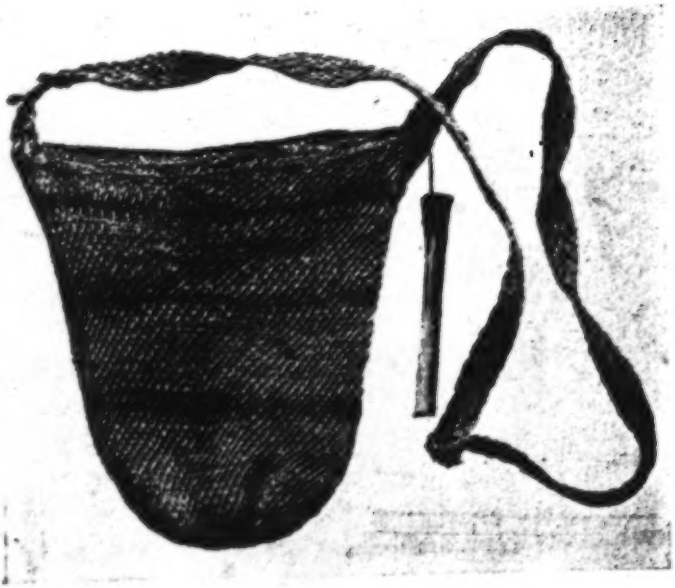

BAG WITH DOUBLE POCKET FOR CARRYING BLOWGUN PELLETS
(Depth of bag, 7¾ inches)

[Facing p. 58]

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Bribri

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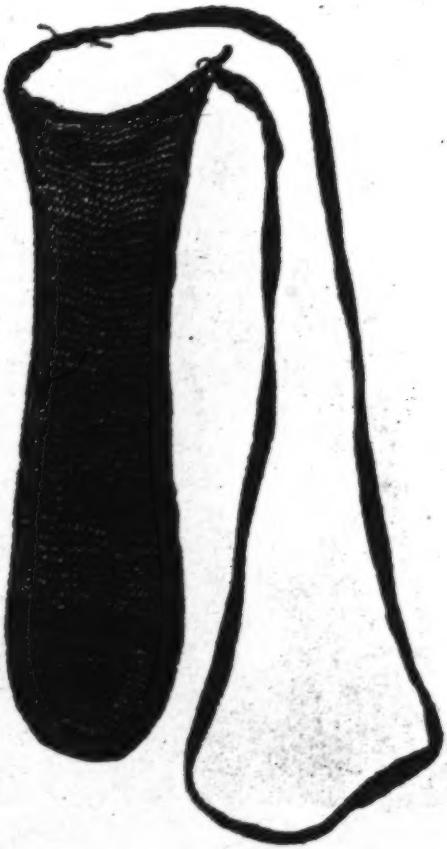

BAG FOR BLOWGUN PELLETS
(Depth, 6 inches)

[facing p. 59]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

with the bag. They are by no means so handsome as the bright-colored bags made by the Valiente Indians nearer the coast, and the Bribri complain that their manufacture will soon be a lost art, except among those dwelling in the remote forest fastnesses, whence the greater supply now comes. Nevertheless, at present the bags are plentiful, and abundant specimens of numerous weaves were secured, ranging in size from tiny pockets, intended to contain clay blowgun pellets, to large receptacles for transporting plantains.

Pl. v represents a large carrying bag, the ground color of which is white, traversed by two transverse horizontal bands in brown. It is of the same technique as the specimen shown in Mason's work,[10] which the author describes as "a coiled carrying bag from Chiriqui, Colombia, and is a type of an enormous amount of ware to be found in Middle America . . . . and is called in this monograph coiled work without foundation . . . . the twine constituting the fabric interlocks with the stitch underneath and makes a complete revolu-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

The edge is similar to that shown in pl. VI, except that it is a single row. The strap for carrying is only an 18-strand net. 286

Pl. VIII shows the detail of a small bag, woven like the last, except that each loop connects singly with its neighbor, and does not take in groups of two, as in pl. VII.

Pl. IX represents a small, double-pocket bag woven like that shown in pl. VI. The bag is intended for carrying clay blowgun pellets, with a division reserved for small game. A bone pellet gauge is attached to the edge. The edge differs from the others in that it is made up of two strands, and the strap for carrying is 20-ply. 286 415

Pl. X shows a small, elongate receptacle, designed for carrying blowgun pellets. The carrying strap is made similarly to all the others, but is of two-strand net. The bag is of coil without foundation work.

The bag of which a detail is illustrated in pl. XI is based on the coil without foundation process, except that, instead of alternating the pairs of loops, they are directly opposite throughout. The cord of which the 286

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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PL. XIII

SKINNER—BRIBRI

BRIBRI FAMILY TRAVELING, SHOWING BURDEN BASKET IN USE, ALSO THE METHOD OF CARRYING A CHILD.

[facing p. 62]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

286 bag is made is tighter and more closely twisted, giving the netting a ribbed appearance.

Pl. XII exhibits the detail of a large bag of simple loop-work alternating with knotted net, the looping occurring only near the top and bottom.

237 282 224 415 Another form of small bag is made from the scrotum of a buck, stuffed with ashes while still fresh, and dried. Bags of this nature were seen worn about the necks of small children, and were probably filled with hunting charms. They could not be purchased, as they were regarded as possessing magic properties.

285 415 *Baskets.*—Bags and baskets of open weave and of sizes ranging from that of a cup to those as big as a washtub, were seen. The latter are used chiefly for carrying burdens or for storage. Besides these baskets and bags, carrying-straps of bark were [482] used, and with these passed over the forehead, as among the forest Indians of northern America, heavy burdens could be transported for long distances. Pl. XIII [894] illustrates the use of a carrying basket and

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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also the method of carrying a child on the back of a Bribri woman when traveling.

A specimen of a handsome type of basket, made of split palm-leaves or of cane, fashioned in a diagonal twilled technique like some of the baskets of the Alibamu, Choc-

FIG. 4. Basket for holding trinkets (diam. 9¼ in.).

taw, and other Indians of our Gulf states, is illustrated in fig. 4. Such baskets are used for holding trinkets, and are not common.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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Calabashes.—No utensils are more common among the Bribri than vessels made of calabashes. Gourds nearly globular in shape, with a small, round hole cut in the apex (fig. 5, *a*), serve for water bottles, while the simplest form of dish or cup is a

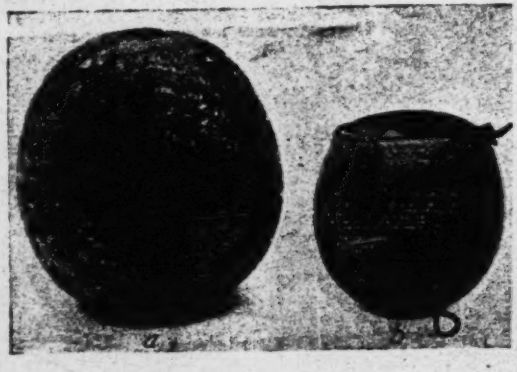

FIG. 5.—Calabashes used as receptacles.

half gourd without decoration. These, or coconut-shells, are sometimes pierced at opposite sides and are furnished with a fiber cord for suspension or carrying (fig. 5, *b*). Thus equipped, they are used as salt dishes.

[531] These gourd receptacles are frequently ornamented with rudely incised designs.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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[Facing p. 65]

a

b

CALABASH SIEVES
(Diameter of rim: *a*, 5½ in.; *b*, 8 in.)

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

Fig. 6, *b*, represents a bowl or cup marked with four T and Y shaped figures, while *a* of the same illustration shows a stellar design with a divided triangle on one side and a T figure on the other. 531 415

Fig. 7 is the most elaborately ornamented calabash bowl collected; it is decorated with [532]

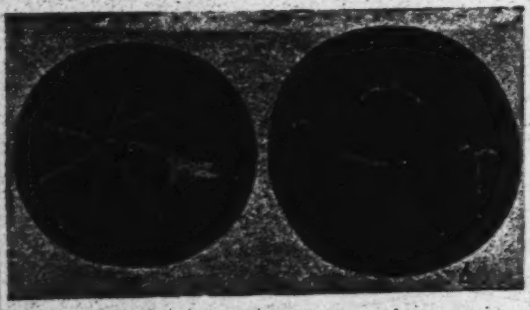

FIG. 6.—Decorated calabashes.

the figure of a steamship, anchored at both ends, and furnished with two nondescript flags, several fairly complicated geometrical figures, the date *1 Mayo*, and the initials *R. M.* Although not obtained from him, it is possible that this vessel may have been made by Ramon, the "king."

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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Another type of vessel is a sieve, or colander, made from the shell of a calabash, shown in pl. XIV, *a*. The rim is left intact, but the rest of the utensil is riddled with holes, though a suggestion of a pattern is

[531]
[532]

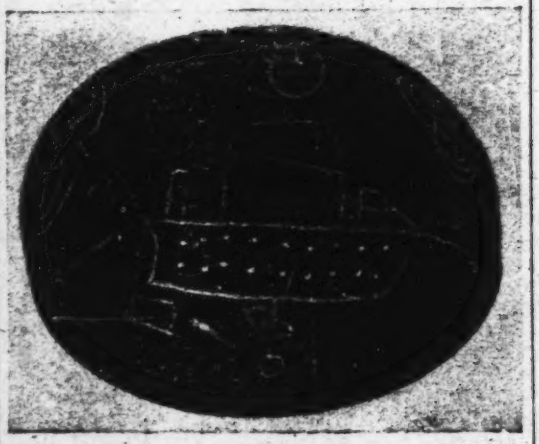

FIG. 7.—Decorated calabash receptacle.

left untouched. The rim bears some crude, etched figures, including one resembling a conventionalized butterfly. The calabash, where cracked, is laced together with fiber string passed through two holes bored in

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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EARTHENWARE JAR FOR CHICHA
(Height, 16 in.)

[facing p. 67]

2;Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

opposite sides of the break. Pl. XIV, *b*, shows another utensil, similar to the last, but shallower. These objects are used as sieves for corn flour. 415

Pottery.—Possibly the most interesting of all Bribri household articles are the huge pottery jars (pl. XV, XV, *a*) used in fermenting *chicha*, the native intoxicant. According to information given by the Indians, these vessels are made of selected clay, which is ground on a metate and mixed with crushed, burnt stone, or coarse sand. The clay is then dampened and made into rolls, and the vessels are built up, coil by coil, and the rolls smoothed. On some abandoned camp-sites, large potsherds, broken so that they plainly showed the coils as well as the tempering, were found. After being shaped and smoothed, the vessels are dried slowly in the shade for several days; then one vessel at a time is taken outdoors, wood is heaped over them, and they are fired. 323 415 [273]

In shape these vessels differ entirely from the pottery found in the graves at Las Mercedes, but resemble the pointed-base Algonkian jars of the Atlantic coast of North America 415 171

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

415 North America. The Indians relate a tradition that without pointed bases the jars would not fire well. Several variations in form were seen. These are nearly all very large, averaging at least three feet in height, and of a capacity of many gallons. Smaller vessels are unusual. None of the vessels observed bore the slightest ornamentation.

Wooden Utensils.—On several occasions, [322] large, round, wooden bowls, shaped like shallow basins, were observed. They were clumsy and thick, and not to be compared with the fine specimens made by many of the North American tribes.

Pl. XVI represents a very simple dish, made by folding the ends of a strip of the leaf of the platanillo and sewing them together.

412 *Mortars and Pestles.*—Fig. 8 shows a type of heavy horizontal mortar frequently seen in the Indian camps. These are made of great logs of mahogany or of other hard wood, sometimes as much as ten or twelve feet long, with the cavity for the corn hewn in one side. The wooden pestles used with

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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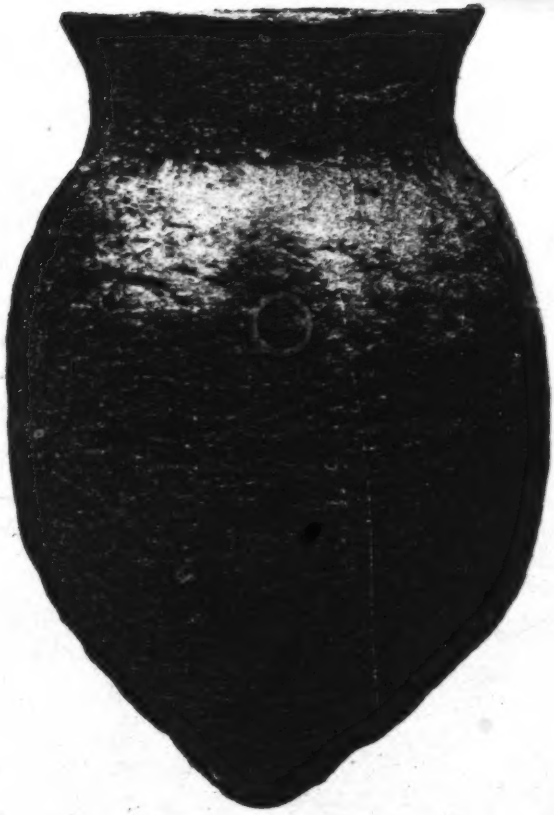

LARGE POTTERY JAR FOR BREWING CHICHA
(Height, 31 inches)

facing p. 69

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

Pl. XVI

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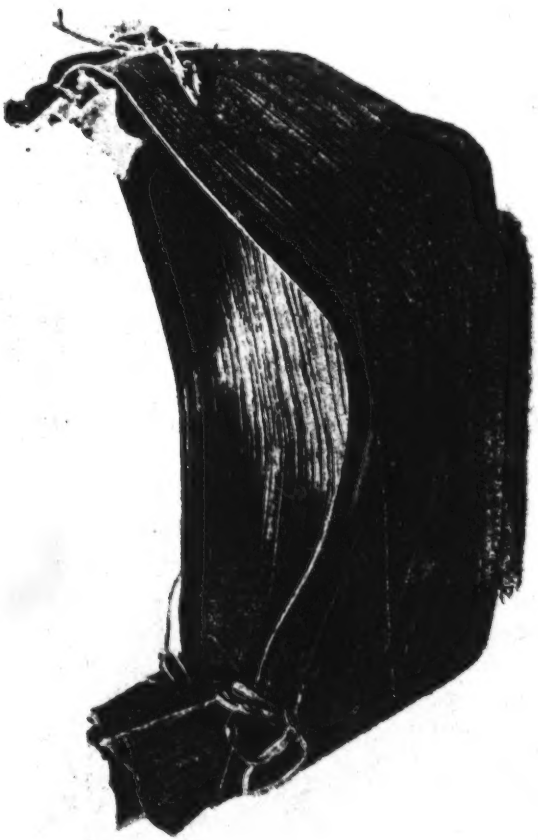

DISH MADE OF A PLATANILLO LEAF

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 71]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

411 about six inches from the muzzle, the end farthest from the user. These are sights, explained by the Indians as "eyes, so that the gun can see where to shoot" (pl. XVII, *c*). Of course these blowguns are suitable only for securing small game.

As an accessory to the blowgun, the Bribri carry small bags intended to hold the earthen pellets used as ammunition. Pl. IX [414] shows one of these bags, which has two compartments, one for the pellets, the other for [413] game. Attached to it is a bone gauge, used to reduce the pellets to the proper caliber for use. Pl. X exhibits another small, narrow, but deep bag for blowgun pellets.

[413] Gabb speaks of a small, straight, heavy piece of bone carried by the hunters and used to drive obstructions out of the tube by its own weight, in case of stoppage. None of these were seen by the writer.

In making blowgun pellets, special clay is obtained. That seen in use among the Bribri was gray, but some balls in the possession of a Cabecar hunter were made of red earth. The clay is brought to camp and dried, then ground fine on a stone mortar,

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

372 generated, which requires only a few moments. Even those Indians who have modern appliances use the hand drill for lighting ceremonial fires.

[237] [412] *Fire Fans.*—Pl. XXIII, *b*, represents a type of feather fan, used chiefly to accelerate flame. They are composed of nine or ten feathers of a large bird, laid parallel and fastened together at the base by a split reed wrapping, in some cases reinforced with a binding of cotton or other fiber.

501 [439] *Canoes.*—Although the Bribri have "cayukas" obtained from foreigners, no canoes of native manufacture were found. A toy canoe, about three feet long, was observed in one settlement; this was fashioned from a log and pointed at both ends. Gabb states that even in his time the Bribri had no canoes of their own.

282 ● 415 [171] *Leather Pouches.*—Pl. XXV, *b*, illustrates a crude leathern pouch used as a carrying bag; it closely resembles a common North American type.

534 *Musical Instruments.*—The drum is the most important musical instrument of the Bribri. In shape the common native instru-

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

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BLOWGUN PELLETS OF CLAY: LEATHER POUCH: SHAMAN'S CALABASH RATTLE
(Length of the rattle, 7¼ inches)

[facing p. 89]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

252 and the mush, sweetened with boiled, ripe,
262 plantain paste, is made into cakes, rolled into plantain leaves, and baked in the ashes.

273 Chicha, the native intoxicant, is made from green corn bitten off the cob by the women and ejected into a calabash, the saliva aiding the process of fermentation. It was said that chicha is also made by chewing cakes of corn and plantain paste, and placing the resultant mass in an earthen kettle containing boiled corn.

262 Sugar-cane and beans of various kinds are raised to a slight extent, and the pith of the cabbage palm and nuts of the pejiballe palm are eaten. Gabb speaks of the use of a variety of greens, or spinach, made of certain tender leaves.

272 Cacao is constantly on hand in every lodge as a food or a drink. It is dried and fermented, roasted, pounded with mortar and muller, and then made into cakes or paste and thus eaten, or into a bitter but stimulating drink. In making chocolate,
● 415 the receptacle is a *jicara*, or a calabash, to contain the paste, which is held upright in an hourglass-shaped standard called *salvilla*

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Bribri

Examples of these, in both stone and pottery, were found frequently in the graves at Las Mercedes. The stirring is done with a stick called *molinillo* (pl. XIX, *e*). 415

Meat is eaten fresh, either boiled or roasted, or is dried for future consumption. 251 262

CEREMONIES

Very few ceremonies are now performed by the Bribri, and of those that survive, most are mortuary in their function. None of these ceremonies were witnessed personally, but descriptions were obtained from Ramón, and from several other Indians whose identity was not learned, as these people have a form of the taboo against mentioning their names. A so-called "ceremony," *La Chichara*, which usually precedes an important undertaking, such as house-building, seems to be nothing more than a general chicha-drinking bout. 796 [784] [273]

Death Ceremonies.—When a Bribri is near death, he is removed from his house to a small hut set up at a distance from the camp, because if he should die in his lodge, 763

226 used in the river for larger fish. The pejibaye part is fitted into the cane and tied with string. The string used for fishing is always made of *pita* (*Aechmea magdalenae* André) (see p. 15). Occasionally a bow is used to shoot the fish. The only difference between the arrow and the spear, is that the arrow has a trifle shorter shaft.

Crayfish and river crabs are caught by hand, chiefly by the young boys who remove the stones in the stream and catch the shell fish from under them. It is nothing unusual that a hundred or more are caught at one time, the result being enjoyed by practically the whole tribe.

252 [415] **Food Preparation.** The food of the *Boruca* is cooked in earthenware vessels, and, if the means of the family permit, in iron pots. These are placed on top of the three hearth stones, which are on the earthen floor, or on the *fogón*, or stove (see p. 12). For grinding grain, metates or grinding stones, called *tumbas* in Costa Rica, are used. [412] These are natural boulders worn smooth on top. The grinding is done with a smaller flat stone with wide rounded edges. This stone is held up-right on the edges and is rolled from side to side, and not pushed backward and forward as in the greater part of Central America (see fig. 5, *a*). The small metates found in ancient graves are never used for corn, but frequently for grinding cacao, often with a pestle-like stone as the grinder.

264 415 When food is not taken by hand from the vessel in which it is cooked, it is served on cheap tin plates, or, in poorer households, in gourds (see p. 19), and eaten either with the fingers, a spoon, or a fork.

258 [263 484] One of the most important elements of food of the *Boruca* is salt (see p. 24). The *Boruca* make a trip to the coast yearly to extract the famous *sal de piedra*, or rock salt, which lasts indefinitely, and has a fishy strong flavor. This rock salt is made by gathering the driftwood on the beach and burning it. A *haba* (a large-holed basket made of a vine or tree fiber, see p. 15) is lined with leaves and hung over a clay vessel. The ashes are put into the *haba* and sea water poured over them. The residue from this filtering process falls into the clay pot. This residue is cooked until it is dry and then recooked, about three times in all. The result

286 [462] **Bags.** Bags (fig. 8, *b–3*) are woven only by the men. They are made by cutting strips of *majagua*, *pita*, or whatever material is used, very, very thin. This is then twisted into a fine cord. The bag is started from a circle of this cord. The end is passed through this, and a knot is made, leaving a loop. Once the circle has been started, the whole is put on the ground, and the maker puts his heel on top of the center. Two knots are made, one on each side of a loop, each time the cord is passed through a loop. When the work is large enough to be managed more easily, it is taken off the ground and held between the knees. Some bags are made with only one knot at each intersection. Bags are used for carrying [415] the gourd water bottle, for keeping materials, and for carrying or keeping odds and ends.

Hammocks. The *Boruca* men make a hammock, from *majagua* (see fig. 8, *b–6*). The weave is coarser than the hammocks made by the *Bribri* from the same material. In hammock-making, the strips are twisted tightly and fastened around a stick which is placed horizontally at each end. The weaving is done with the fingers. Each time the strip is woven in and out of the spaces left by the original strips and then looped over the sticks at the end. When the hammock is finished, a turkey or chicken thigh bone is usually substituted for the sticks, and acts as a link between the hammock and the rope which ties the hammock to the wall.

285 295 **Hats.** One or two Indian men occasionally make straw hats from the leaf of the *sem-krá* (see p. 7). The leaf is first dried in the sun, then cut into thin strips, and the hat is woven basket-fashion, commencing from the center of the crown. This whole technique is not common to the *Boruca* and is probably borrowed from the Chiriquíanos who are found scattered through much of southeastern Costa [439] Rica. The hats are made to sell in *ladino* towns, and are seldom used by the *Boruca*.

287 **Bark Cloth.** Today, the *Boruca* do not profess to use bark cloth or *mastate* (fig. 7, *c – 4*) as part of their dress, nor do they use it any longer for sails (see p. 15). Occasionally, bark cloth is used as a blanket for sleeping. The *Boruca* claim to have worn *mastate* as late as 1933, when they had easy access to the coast

287 and the *mastate blanco* tree which grows there. In view of the fact that it is frequently acquired from the neighboring *Cavagra* or *Cabécares* (see p. 24), it is quite probable that the *mastate* is used, not only in place of blankets, but also as loin cloth by the women. *Mastate* can be made from two trees. One tree is the *mastate blanco*, or white *mastate*, which the *Boruca* prefer, and which, as we have seen, grows on the coast. The other tree is found in the interior, and is known as *mastate colorado*, or red *mastate* (*Brosimum utila* [HBK] Pittier). It is the tree still used by the *Cavagra* for making bark cloth, but apparently was not utilized by the *Boruca* unless it was absolutely necessary. Both trees have a milk, but [272] that of the red *mastate* is sometimes used for drinking, while that of the white is never taken. To make the cloth, a piece of bark is cut off and rolled at right angles to the grain, then beaten with a wooden stick to take off the rough outer surface, after which it is beaten with another club whose surface is grooved. It is then soaked in water and pulled to the desired size and put in the sun to dry, having pieces of wood or stone placed on the outer edges to keep the cloth from contracting.

321 **Bone Objects.** The use of bone amongst the *Boruca* is rather curious. It is the material employed almost generally for spindle whorls, and always for the needle-like pieces which are the temple, and are used to pin the woven cloth already on the loom so that it does not lose its shape while the rest is being made. Furthermore, the thigh bones of wild turkey and fowl are used to connect the hammock with the extra rope from which it hangs. Similar bones serve as handles for the *maracas* (see [755] fig. 10, *c*, *d*). Bone is also used for certain cures, for example, if a baby has dysentery, bone and garlic bracelets are put on its wrists.

● 415 [824] **Gourds.** One of the most important everyday artifacts of the *Boruca* is the gourd which grows on the tree called either *guacal*, or *jicara*, depending on the shape of the fruit. This tree scientifically is known as *Crescentia Cujete* L., and the tree, as well as its fruit, in English, are all called "gourds." The *guacal* is round, while *jicaras* are oblong.

The gourds serve many purposes. They are, of course, used as drinking cups, for hold-

415 ing liquids, in the kitchen, and for carrying water to the fields or on trips. Interestingly enough, a ring base to sustain the gourd erect does not seem to be known, the vessel being placed on the ground and balanced by rocks or the legs of the *fogón*. In addition to the [231] uses mentioned above, gourds are used as bee hives (see fig. 4, *d*), as a receptacle for the [283] spindle whorl while making thread (see fig. 5, *c*), for carrying seed when planting, and are employed extensively as sieves. The use of the gourd as a sieve is very common amongst the present close neighbors of the *Boruca*, the *Talamanca* peoples.[21] For use as 412 a sieve, the gourd is covered with holes made 415 by a combination cutter and puncturer. This tool has a handle of pejibaye palm in one end of which a forked piece of metal with one prong longer than the other is inserted and bound by string. The longest prong is shoved into the gourd until the shortest penetrates the outer surface deeply enough to cut a line in a circle. This operation has the double [531] effect of making a circular hole and at the same time a line design around the aperture [534] (see figs. 7, *b–8*; 7, *c–3*). Gourds are also made into *maracas* or rattles to accompany the drum at celebrations (see p. 29). There is 531 no rule about the decoration of the gourds. They are either left untouched, or are carved in various designs, the most popular of which is the leaf motif, although animal figures sometimes appear. The patterns are cut with a knife, and left to turn a darker color with time.

381 Glues. Glues are rarely used by the *Boruca*.
314 A glue that is used for mending vessels, or, at times for water-proofing the dug-out canoes is made from a small palm (*Elaeis melanococca Gaertn.*) called in Boruca *tuskra'*, *tus*, meaning "short," and *kra'*, meaning "plant." This palm has thorny leaves and red fruit (see p. 15). To make the glue, the trunk is cut in pieces and spread out in the open so that the dew has easy access to the sap. The following morning, the residue, which is the glue, is gathered.

323 Pottery. Very little pottery is now being
177 made by the *Boruca*. The European war, however, has caused iron cooking vessels to become practically unobtainable as well as prohibitive in price, and the Indians are slowly

[21] Skinner, 1920, pp. 66–67.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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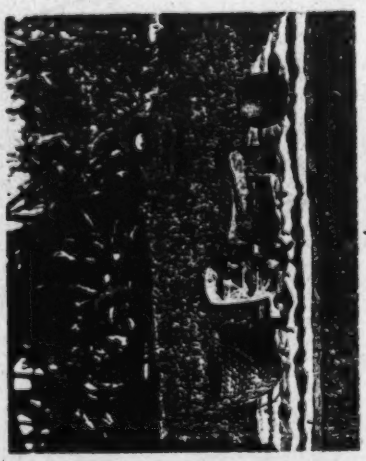

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4, Ox and Indian woman laden with grasses for a roof. A, Artifacts of the Boruca: 1, mantle or skirt; 2, hoe; 3, doll; 4, maracas or rattles; 5, mask; 6, four-legged stool; 7, man's belt; 8, sieve. C, Artifacts of the Boruca: 1, four-legged stool with head and tail; 2, baskets; 3, sieves; 4, bark cloth; 5, drum. d, Woman wearing the mantle or skirt, and blouse.

[p.57]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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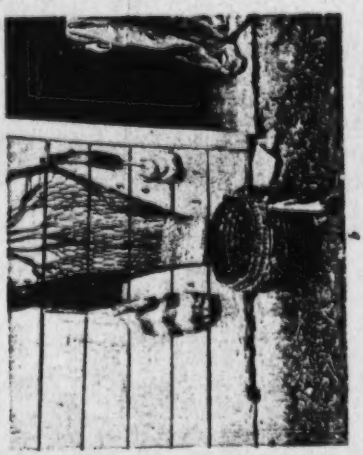

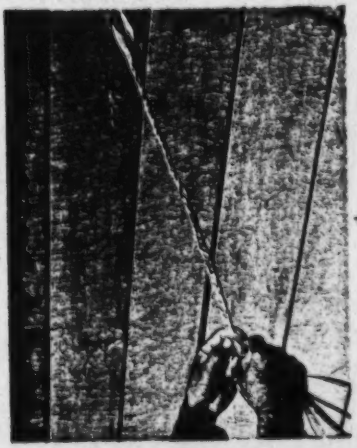

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4. Girls laden with oranges in *kabo* in front of school house. *b*, Cordage artifacts used by the Boruca: 1, *kabo*; 2, 3, 5, string bags made by the Talamanca peoples; 3, *kabo*; 5, string bag made by the Boruca; 6, hammock made by the Boruca. *c*, *Mejagua* ready for use. *d*, Sample of rope technique.

[p. 58]

[P.11(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19

Bribri
Cabecar

621
361 Dávila must be remembered (*see* Regional Terminology) as well as the custom that each clan had to settle in a particular location (*see* Social Organization). In truth, one of the greatest points of contention between the
[648] aborigine and the Spaniard was the necessity of the conqueror to force the Indian to live in towns in order to carry out the task of conversion, to collect tribute, and to have an easy and constant source of labor. This concentration in a community was entirely foreign to the culture of the Talamancan peoples, and historical documents contain many allusions to the resistance of the Indians to such a move. There are countless sites with names, but even in the case of places such as Amubre, Chirripó, and Ujarrás where there is a church, or Cabagra, Salitre, and Ujarrás where there is a school, there is little semblance of what the word "village" brings to mind. Dwellings are scattered, sometimes two to five kilometers apart, and only on the Pacific side is there anything akin to a community center, in this instance the school.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241
[412]
[824] The only implement used in upper Talamanca and Chirripó is a flat, pointed digging stick made from the outer bark of the *pejibaye* palm (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey). This is stuck into the ground at a sixty degree angle and is then raised vertically. The seeds are thrown into this hole from a gourd tied around the
● [415] waist (fig. 2, *c*) and the stick is removed permitting the earth to settle back. It is then tapped lightly in place with the stick. The
[411] belief persists that this tool was once a battle weapon.[69] The only other cultivation deemed necessary is one weeding with a machete. In
[412] the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, both the all-wood *macana* and one with a metal blade are seen; while on the Pacific side, an angle stick is used to clear the fields. It
249 is interesting to note that when tobacco is to be planted here there is no preliminary burning. This crop is sown in rows indicated by ...nes and pieces of banana stalk are put over the new growth to keep off too much sun.

[69] Skinner, 1920, pp. 70-71.

[See category 116, END Plate 1- Analyst]

[p. 14(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

322 selected is placed over the fire to soften. A wire is heated and is pushed through the length of the wood to remove the soft pulp. If wire is not available, a *pejibaye* rod is substituted. The [824] inside is smoothed by wrapping *chumico* leaves (*Curatella americana* L.) around a *pejibaye* rod and rubbing it up and down. The gun is then filled with ashes and the outside [237] covered with beeswax and carbon to preserve it. Two shells, beads, beetles, or lumps 411 of wax are often used as sights (fig. 12, *d*).[1] The balls for ammunition are made of clay which has been dried, ground fine, and then mixed with water, worked with the fingers and rounded with a wild turkey bone as ●[415] needed. They are carried in string bags.

Lances made of *pejibaye* wood with metal heads are occasionally seen. When rifles or [415] shotguns are available, rubber bags are used to carry a powder horn, wick, etc.

[223] Bolas are made by small boys for hunting birds. *Guarumo* fiber is used instead of cord [857] and river stones are used for ammunition. A loop of *pita* (agave thread) is made in one end into which the forefinger is placed. Then both ends of the bola are grasped in the hands and it is swung over the head.

223 A resin called *yok* in Cabécar is put on a [314] tree where birds are apt to feed. Their feet stick in this, prohibiting escape. Wild boars 224 and large game are often trapped. This is accomplished by tying a rope to a tree beside a path and making a slipknot at the other end, leaving a wide loop. The loop is placed in the center of the path and the animal is snared in it.

At night, in Talamanca, another type of lure is used. Crab claws, with bits of meat left in them, are tied to a piece of string about 22 yards long. Bananas, or whatever fruit the animal being hunted uses for food, is attached to one end of this string. The string is tied to a stick which is thrust into the ground to hold the bait in place. The hunters use a leaf to shield their light and remain hidden. They are alerted by the sound of the claws rattling and shoot their prey with a bow and arrow or a [262] gun. There is a superstition connected with

[192] "blow gun stick"; in Bribri *skamokəL* signifying the same as in Cabécar.

[1] [See category 116 - END PLATE 11 - ANALYST.]

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*).[2/3] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or [415] cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[73] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*bavas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. [278] A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [824] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called *wiwakri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[73] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

1/ [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

[P. 16(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19

Bribri
Cabecar

372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate
[243] shelter is not practised except in lower Chirripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash crop is developing. It must be remembered that the principal diet of these people consists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to preserve tubers for eating once they are picked. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or hung on rafters, occasionally in bark containers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes* during the months they are not in season. When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, however, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom practised. Here the people depend upon bananas and plantains during the lean months which in this area are from March to August.

[415]
[184]
[262]

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the most esteemed beverage among the Talamancan peoples is chocolate. This is the drink cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths, *Theological Beliefs*) and the preferred drink given to the dead for their non-returnable journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any consequence require chocolate. It is also the most appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give to people of importance. The drink is pre-

[796]
[574]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 16(B)--GUALIST]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types
[184] vary, depending upon the location. The orthodox Talamancan dwelling is large and round with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times it seems to have been a communal clan dwelling called by the Spaniards a "palenque," whether or not there was a fence, housing up to three hundred people. The Spanish account furthermore reads:

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342

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 16(B)--GUALIST]

[74] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[75] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se con-
[361] gregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This [252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these 251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black [824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening, 231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh meat is lacking. Small *bavas*, made by ● 415 women from the vine called *kugaca* in C[illegible] 824 and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or c[illegible] nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging 352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely 177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Talamanca there is no word to designate these [192] shelves, other than the Bribri *koŋ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking ves- [272] sels; sticks with a number of little branches left for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] "It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance

1/1 [i.e. carrying baskets – ANALYST]

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fishing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[231] made of vine; bark containers or *havas;* remedies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua*
[415] leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves; bright feathers from birds, in particular the
[237] oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers; sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers for planting.

352 513 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made by the Bribri men and used by them and the Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs of all houses and are for sleeping as well as resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves are placed on the ground by the fire and are used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a protruding head and tail. The women sit on them while cooking, or people while talking, in order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLə* in Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden mixing trays or wooden mortars, *havas,* and basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), fre-
[824] quently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to protect them from animals. Large earthen chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all the big circular houses of the Bribri and in some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the
[824] remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[264] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are
[753] used for eating from these or from a common pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of their use.

352 177 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá.* In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

[P. 19 (A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

352 177 [354] [415] [412] 417 342 177 [192] nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions of other customs are evident. The hearth is sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends with vines similar to those of the Panamanian Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks, plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched steps is used for a ladder to reach the mezzanines which are occasionally seen in this type of house. It is significant that the Cabécares, who have had less contact with non-indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 [824] [192] [184] In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by *pita* (agave thread). There is no word for lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Talamanca, the word for fire is used.

On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre, [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--ANALYST]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 [287] **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have formed an important part of Talamanca culture. From the middle of the 17th century to the present, we can trace the use of bark cloth. In this respect, the following commentaries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-ANALYST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more often constructed of clay on a wooden table. Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of wooden rods are used for sleeping along with hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen in every household although their number is limited according to the family purse. The low stool is always present but a chair and a table are found now and then. Hanging shelves serve for storing food and all manner of odds and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts. The fondness for decorating the wall with feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however, remains the same as on the Caribbean side. Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree trunk containing wild bees.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabited by the Talamancas, it is only used as blankets. Sewing is done by both men and women but chiefly by the men.

The ordinary woman's garment consists of

y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

283 824 sp.) is used on the Pacific slope for tumplines and rope.

287 [462] [824] **Bark Cloth.** Men generally make bark cloth as it requires considerable strength. There are three kinds of *mastate* or bark cloth made in Talamanca and two on the Pacific side. Red *mastate* (*Brosimum costaricensis* Liebmann) and white *mastate* (*Brosimum* sp.) are used on both slopes. The third kind is *Poulsenia armata* (Miq.) Standl; Moraceae. The method of preparation is similar.

The bark of the first two trees is cut and rolled at a right angle to the grain. The outer surface is removed by beating with a stick and then with a wooden club cut with horizontal grooves, one side of which is usually slightly curved. It is soaked in water, pulled to the shape and size desired, and left in the sun to dry. Stones are placed at the corners to hold the shape. The cloth is used for blankets, [513] hammocks (amongst the Cabécar only), to carry babies, as tumplines, belts, and loincloths, and as an article of trade with the [438] Borucas.

The third type, *testí* in Cabécar, is prepared by cutting around the tree with a machete the desired size for the cloth. Then a wedge-shaped wooden stick is used to peel it off the trunk. The piece is then doubled and the outer bark is cut in a thin sheet and rolled back, leaving the cambium or inner bark. This is soaked for several days and is afterwards beaten with a wooden stick to make it pliable and soft. It is used primarily for blankets.

[824] [415] In Talamanca and in Chirripó, the wild rubber tree (*Castilla* sp.) also furnishes a cloth for hunting pouches.

286 415 **Net Bags.** The Bribri have long been famous for the manufacture of net bags (*see* Trade), although the Cabécares are known to make them occasionally. They serve a variety of purposes besides being a depository for personal and household things. They are used for hunting and for carrying all manner of cargo, from plantains to babies. Most bags are made of *pita* or *cabuya* thread and have a long handle which also acts as a tumpline. The usual shape [224] is baglike, but those for blow-gun hunting are elongated and have small divisions or pockets. [227] At times in Talamanca, casting nets are made from the same material and in the same technique.

[P. 23(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

286 nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven
●415 from cotton or *guaruмo* fiber. This last is
[184] found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or double loop.[89] Those for ordinary purposes are single looped and are generally made with the fingers alone, although at times a bone needle is used to open the hole. The fine meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
824 needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
231 bags are always plain and undyed. The better
[531] ones, however, are decorated with horizontal bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see* Dyes).

285 **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made
824 by men from vines (*bejuco de hierro*) and are
[482] suspended down the back by a tumpline. Baskets for household use only are fashioned from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[231] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung on the outer walls of the houses.

386 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is
824 obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[90] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *higuerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *səkíbaL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

[171]

[89] Skinner, 1920, pp. 58–62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.
[90] This is also used in the interior of South America.
[91] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511–12.

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 [177] **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb[91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration [531] of the skirts consists of wide brown and white stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

● 415 824 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars, containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when planting; and as sieves, in particular for making [252] *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes 264 used as spoons to dish out food and occa- [534] sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made. [531] The gourds are generally plain, and when decorated, the designs are crude cuts or child-like drawings. The holes in the sieves are made [322] with a metal point attached to a wooden handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93] 273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *bevas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 824 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[92] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.

[93] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67–68.

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381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [281] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of [824] deer hide are used for minute bags which [777] contain good luck seeds to put on children's necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [292] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary [534] hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is 824 tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the [252] Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, [273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are [415] common. These last two items are used for drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [251] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* [252] sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed 287 for food preparation and the manufacture of bark cloth.

[P. 32(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

765 Death feasts depend upon the means of the family of the deceased. On this occasion there were chocolate and coffee, plantains roasted in their skins, chickens, and pigs.

764 When it came time for the body to be bundled for disposal, the mother lay down on leaves and wrapped herself in *mastate* after which she remained motionless as if no longer alive.

[868] The Burier, aided by a boy apprentice, took leaves of the white *bijagua* and passed them over the fire so that they became soft and pliable. He sat on a low bench and removed the thickest part of the stem with a machete, putting the prepared leaf on another bench in front of him. He also had vines to tie the outer part of the bundle and wide pieces of bark cloth to cover the whole.

[415] The Burier, the Organizer of Feasts, and the mother were given a drink of chocolate in boat-shaped cups made of black *bijagua* leaves. The mother sat up quickly when offered the drink and moaned out loud in a little singsong artificial voice. When she finished the chocolate, she said a few words of thanks to the people present and became silent again.

The Burier washed his hands with water from a gourd and piled the banana leaves from the *tapesco* screen on the ground. He measured the size of the body with a stick and with a leaf. Then he put wide strips of *burío* fiber over the leaf.

[177] [767] An old woman, dressed in machine-made material decorated with a striped design to resemble a woven skirt, appeared as a professional mourner. While the Burier proceeded with his preparations, she went into the nearby bushes and began to wail in a loud singsong.

[852] The children present screamed from fright at this unaccustomed noise, and most of the men left to fix the temporary resting place. During all this, the mother remained motionless under her *mastate* covering on the ground.

On top of the banana leaves and the *burío* strips, the Burier piled the *bijagua* leaves so that they overlapped, making one great sheet. He stamped on them so that they became more pliable. Then he took the corpse bundle which was tied with the hand-rolled cotton string and some vines and placed it on top of the leaves. As he folded the leaves over the bundle, he took the cotton from the stick and placed

6:Stone E-8 (1956-1959)1962
[p. 60(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Cabecar

*539 *danta*, but when he stationed me where the animal was to pass, I saw footprints and did not realize they were my own. Instead, I followed them. What I found was no *danta*, but *bák namú* waiting and he killed me.

"Then he gave my brother my head and my brother dug out the brains and beat them into a pulp and drank this with the demon, *bák namú*, using my skull as a *jícara*." [188]

The boys fished with a hook and chile but did not get *bák namú*. The jaw with teeth kept telling her son to keep trying to catch his uncle. The boys became sad and refused to talk. The youngest climbed down and said, "Brothers, you are older and play and don't understand what has happened."

He told them and they grew sadder not knowing what to do except to take care of each other.

When they were most desperate, a man appeared and asked them why they were so sad and what had happened. The youngest, who was also the bravest, spoke up, "Señor, you do not know what has happened to us. Our uncle is to blame. He sold our mother to the demon."

The man replied, "Don't worry. Stop being sad. I can fix things. Just tell me all you know of what happened."

They told him and he gave the youngest a little golden staff made from his umbilical cord which would conquer any demon. The man further cautioned the boy to put the staff on his feet but not let it touch the ground.

Then they went to the pool by the big cliff and the man said, "Try it and make a sign to see if it works."

The boy made a movement and the cliff parted in half drying up the river and permitting the group to pass to the other side.

The man said, "Yes, you can be very powerful with the power I have given you. You can dominate anything. No beast can be more mighty than you. Continue and conquer the most fearful with this power I have given you."

The youngest one kept the power. He went to kill *bák namú* and his uncle, *aroromsa*. He slew the demon but left his uncle because when *aroromsa* smokes cigars there is a breeze.

[821]

[776] [416] [82]

as five or eight men together.

[188] Gourd used for drinking *Crescentia Cujete* L.

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

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a-b, Preparing palm leaves for roofing, Talamanca. c, Detail of vine tying used in Bribri construction. d, One of four booths within a Bribri house, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 5]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

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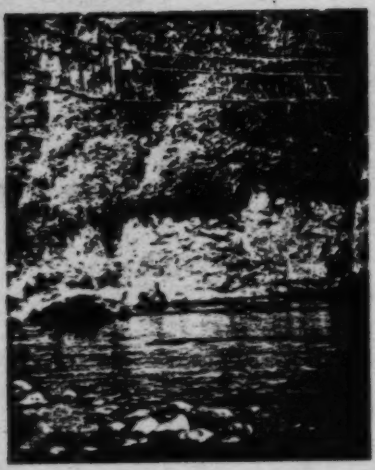

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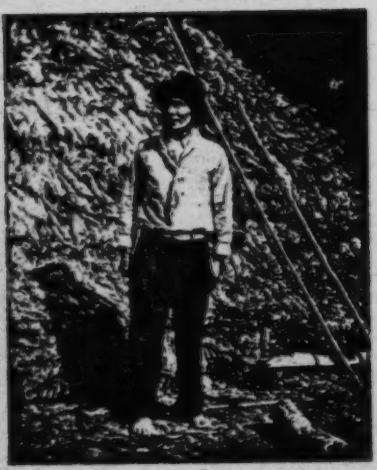

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a, Vino bridge, Alto Talamanca (photograph courtesy of Gonzalo Martinez). b, Articles to accompany the dead at first burial, Cabécar, Alto Cano. c, Cabécar medicine man with staff, Talamanca. d, Bribri medicine man, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 10]